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WORDS FOR 'BATTLE,' 'WAR,' 'ARMY,' AND 'SOLDIER'

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In the midst of a world at war, even the plodding scholar finds it difficult to fix his attention upon his own proper field of research, unless it is upon a part of it which bears some relation to war. Such points of contact obtrude themselves upon the historian, economist, sociologist, psychologist, philosopher, mathematician, chemist, physicist, and in every branch of medical science. So the philologist, unable to vie with his colleagues in contributions of practical value, may ponder innocuously on the history of the words which are on everyone's lips.

Every change in the instruments and practices of warfare leaves its mark in language, and many of the new terms pass from one language to another and become international. The additions to vocabulary resulting from the present war bid fair to exceed those of any preceding period, not excepting that following the invention of gunpowder. However, it is not my intention to attempt to gather this crop before it is ripe, but rather to survey the history of the words (in the Indo-European languages) for a few of the most general concepts connected with war, such as are common to all periods, namely 'battle,' 'war,' 'army,' and 'soldier.'

Such a survey must not be expected to yield important contributions to philosophic thought on the subject of war, at least in my hands. No doubt an untrammelled imagination might readily find

in the history of these words an appropriate text for many a generalization on the causes and conditions of war, on militarism versus pacificism, etc. One might demonstrate anew the universality of war. Or, noting the frequent identity of 'army' with 'people,' one might observe that the conception of an army as the 'people in arms' is alike the most primitive and the most recent, contrasted with that of the purely professional army which prevailed in the long interim. Or again, one might note that 'war' sometimes is derived from 'judicial strife' and hopefully foretell the time when it will revert to that conception and when 'soldier' will mean nothing more than 'policeman,' like the French *gendarme*.

But this survey does illustrate, quite superfluously it is true, the international character of war. For the chief interest in the study of this particular group of words lies in the extensive wanderings which many of them exhibit. Thus Latin has furnished one word for 'army' which in its various forms is now current from the Straits of Gibraltar to the banks of the Ganges (42), and another which is familiar in all Europe (44). A late Latin word for 'soldier' has spread over nearly all Europe and America, and the special Italian form of it over most of continental Europe and to remote parts of Asia (59). Germanic has given the word for 'war' to most of the Romance languages and English, though this word is not so used in the Germanic languages themselves (33). Conversely a Modern German word for 'battle' is of Latin origin, though the corresponding form is not so used in any of the Romance languages (15).

'BATTLE'

1-12. From 'fight, strike,' etc. A battle is simple an organized fight, and the majority of the usual words for 'battle' are connected with verbs meaning 'fight, strike,' or the like. That this meaning itself is often secondary, coming from other more specific notions not always determinable, need not disturb our immediate grouping.

1. Skt. *yudh-* 'fight, battle,' from *yudh-* 'to fight.' The root in this meaning is mainly Indo-Iranian (cf. Avest. *yūīdyēiti* 'fights'), and is most prolific of derivatives in Indic (e.g., *yodha* 'battle' in modern Bengali and Mahratti; *yōd* 'battle' in Kashmiri). But it appears also in Homeric *ὑσμίνη* 'battle,' and probably in various

Celtic proper names, as Old Welsh *Iud-nerth*, *Iud-mael*, etc., and in Old Irish *idnae* 'weapons' (Stokes, *Urkelt. Sprachschatz*, p. 224; Pedersen, *Gram. d. kelt. Sprachen*, I, 65). The cognates in other languages, as Lat. *iubeō*, Lith. *judinu* 'move, shake,' Lett. *jauda* 'might,' etc., show other meanings, which may be combined with 'fight' on the basis of 'be or set in violent motion.'

2. Avest. *pəšana-*, the word for 'battle,' once also *pərat-*, from *pərat-* 'to fight'; OPers. *partara-* 'foe' or possibly 'battle';¹ Skt. *pṛt-* 'battle' and *pṛtanā-* 'battle,' and also used as a collective ('fighting body') of a specific type of army organization. The relationship of Lat. *proelium* (cf. Walde, *Lat. et. Wtb.*², s.v.) is very doubtful.

3. Gk. *μάχη*, the regular word for 'battle' from Homer to the present day, from *μάχομαι* 'fight,' of which the further connection is uncertain. For various possible combinations, see Boisacq, *Dict. étym. de la langue grecque*, p. 616.

4. Lat. *pugna* is, as first pointed out by Bréal (*Mém. Soc. Ling.*, IV, 82), a back-formation from *pugnō*, *pugnāre*, which is itself a denominative from *pugnus* 'fist.' The semantic extension of fist fighting to fighting in general was effected in the verb. In late vulgar Latin *pugna* was displaced by the following.

5. The general Romance word for 'battle,' Ital. *battaglia*, Roum. *bătălie*,² Span. *batalla*, Port. *batalha*, Fr. *bataille*, whence also Eng. *battle*, is from Lat. *batt(u)ālia*, a sporting term applied to boxing and fencing exercises,³ and derived from *battuō* 'strike, beat,' occurring mainly as a boxing term. The verb is perhaps of Celtic origin, at any rate related to a group of Celtic words (cf. Walde, *Lat. et. Wtb.*² with references, and Thurneysen in *Thesaurus*), and also to OE.

¹ New reading *partaram* (*prtm*) established by Weissbach for former *hamaram* in Naksh-i Rustam a 47. Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*, translates *partaram patiyajatā* "hat den kaempfenden (Feind) geschlagen" but notes that the corresponding phrase in the Elamitic and Babylonian versions means "hat Schlachten geliefert." It is possible that the Persian also means "waged battle," though the regular word for 'battle' is *hamarana-* (13).

² But Roum. *bătălie* is a modern loan word from the French or Italian, replacing in this sense a Slavic word (23). The inherited Roumanian form *bătaie* means 'blow, beating,' etc.

³ *Gram. Lat.*, VII, 178: *battualia, quae vulgo battalia dicuntur . . . exercitationes autem militum vel gladiatorum significat.*

beadu 'battle, war' (in poetry only), ON. *bǫð* 'battle,' OHG. *Batu-* in proper names.

6. OE. *gefeht* 'fight, battle,' the usual prose word,¹ from *feohtan* 'fight' (OHG. *fehtan*, NHG. *fechten*, etc.). Probably related to Lat. *pectō*, Lith. *peszti* 'pull hair'; cf. the use of Lith. *pesztuwės* and *pesztynės* for 'scuffle, fight.' Connection with Lat. *pugnus* is less probable (cf. Walde, *Lat. et. Wtb.*², p. 622).

7. NHG. *Schlacht* 'battle,' OHG. *slahta* 'slaughter, fight,' from *slahan* 'smite'; cf. ON. *slag* 'blow, slaughter, fight,' OE. *gesleht*, *gesliht* 'fight, battle,' etc. As the specific military term, *Schlacht* is modern, Luther still using it mostly in the sense of slaughter. It is doubtless due to the influence of the German usage that in Danish and Swedish (and not in Icelandic) *slag* is now the regular word for 'battle.'

8. Goth. *waihjō*, which translates *μάχη* (II Cor. 7:5),² and *wigans* (?) in *du wigana* = *εἰς πόλεμον* (Luke 14:31), ON. *vīg*, OHG. *wīc*, OE. *wīg* (one of the commonest words for 'battle or 'war,' with numerous compounds), all from the root seen in Goth. *weihan* 'fight,' OE. *wigan* 'fight,' OIr. *fichim* 'fight,' Lat. *vincō*, etc.

9. Lith. *muszis* 'battle,' from *muszti* 'strike.'

10. Lett. *kauja* 'battle,' from *kaut* 'smite, kill'; cf. Lith. *kauti* 'smite, fight,' NHG. *hauen*, Eng. *hew*, Lat. *cūdō*, etc.

11. The Slavic words for 'battle,' as ChSl. *bojŭ*, Russ. *boj*, Serbo-Croat. *bōj*, Boh. *boj*, etc., or Boh. *bitwa*, Pol. *bitwa*, etc. (cf. Berneker, *Slav. et. Wtb.*, p. 68), are derived from *biti* 'strike.'

12. Russ. *sraženie* 'battle,' from *sražat'*, *srazit'* 'strike down,' ChSl. (*su-*) *raziti* 'strike.'

¹ In illustrating the wealth of synonyms in Old English poetry, Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 51, remarks: "For 'battle' or 'fight' we have in *Beowulf* at least twelve synonyms." The twelve mentioned are: *beadu* (see 5); *gud*, cf. ON. *gudr*, *gunnr* related to *θεῖνω*, Skt. *han-* 'smite,' etc.; *hild*; cf. OHG. *hilta* 'battle,' Mfr. *cellach* 'war,' probably related to Lith. *kalti* 'smite,' Lat. *clādes*, etc.; *nīd* (see 20); *geslyht* (see 7); *orleg* (see 33); *wig* (see 8); *gewinn* (see 16); *ræs* 'rush, attack'; *lindplega* 'swordplay.'

Where, however, it has not the military sense. While there is every probability that Goth. *waihjō* and *weihan* were used for *μάχη* and *μάχομαι* in the military sense, and also that *harjis* was the word for 'army' (see 41), the passages which would determine this are missing. The only Gothic word group quotable in distinctively military application is that comprising *gadrauhſ* 'soldier,' *drauhtinōn* 'wage war,' etc. (see 55).

13-21. From miscellaneous sources, such as 'meeting,' 'array,' 'field,' 'effort,' 'struggle,' 'action,' 'joy,' 'hate.'

13. OPers. *hamarana*- 'battle,' constantly used in the Behistun inscription, is identical with Skt. *samarāṇa*-, *samara*- 'meeting,' usually 'hostile meeting, fight,' from *sam-r*- 'come together.' Compare the military use of NHG. *Treffen*, Eng. *encounter*, etc.

14. Arm. *razm* 'battle' is borrowed from Pers., Pahl. *razm* 'battle,' belonging with Avest. *rasman*- 'battle array,' from *raz*- 'direct, arrange,' cognate with Lat. *regō*, etc. Compare Lat. *aciēs* 'battle array,' also 'battle.'

15. NHG. *Kampf* 'fight, battle,' in the older periods 'duel,' OE. *camp* 'contest, battle, war,' represent an early Germanic borrowing from Lat. *campus*. It is true that this derivation was mildly questioned by Grimm (*Deutsches Wtb.*) and was positively rejected by Kluge in the earlier editions of his *Etym. Wtb. der deutschen Sprache* (but later restored to favor); and Paul (*Deutsches Wtb.*²) still says: "Ableitung aus lat. *campus* ist zweifelhaft." But there is no sufficient ground for skepticism, and certainly most scholars today accept the derivation without question. The connecting link, which Grimm felt was missing, is best seen in the special connotation which came to *campus* from the Roman *Campus Martius*.

Among the Franks the name *Campus Martius*, obviously in imitation of the Roman use (but also associated with the name of the month, and after a change of date to May, also called *Campus Madius*) was given to the annual assembly which was "at once an army, a council, and a legal tribunal" (*Cambridge Mediaeval History*, II, 135). Furthermore, *campus* alone was used of lesser assemblies of military or judicial character and most frequently for a single combat in the arena, especially the trial at arms to determine the guilty party, like the duel described by Gregory of Tours (X, 10), which was ordered by the king (*rex campum deiudicat*) to settle a dispute as to guilt. Numerous other examples of *campus* 'duel,' sometimes expressly glossed by 'duellum' or 'certamen singulare,' are quoted by Du Cange. This is the prevailing meaning of OHG. and MHG. *Kampf*. It is also reflected in the derivatives, as *campio* (campionēs 'gladiatores, pugnatōres,' glossae Isid.), OHG. *chemphio*, Fr., Eng. *champion*,

and the verb OHG. *chemfan*, whence NHG. *kaempfen*. The broader use of NHG. *Kampf* is then clearly a modern extension.

A similar extension, only much earlier, may be assumed for OE. *camp* in the sense of 'battle,' and likewise for OFr. *champ* (*cans*, *chanz*). For it seems more probable that here too this meaning has come through the medium of the late *campus* 'duel' than that it came more directly from *campus* in the sense of 'battlefield.'

16. OHG. and MHG. *strit*, the usual word for 'battle' (cf. NHG. *Streitwagen*, etc., otherwise *Streit* now used mainly of verbal strife), also frequently 'war,' cognate with OE. *strīð* 'strife, struggle,' ON. *strīð* 'woe, grief, struggle,' also, by the end of the thirteenth century, 'war,' as in Modern Icelandic.

For the semantic development compare also Welsh *trin* 'labor, trouble, action,' also 'battle' (ultimate root connection with OHG. *strit* is probable), NHG. *Krieg* (see 31), OE. *gewinn* (see 32), OE. *sacu* 'strife,' especially 'verbal strife' (Goth. *sakjō*, etc.), also 'battle' or 'war.'

17. Words meaning 'action' are often applied specifically to military action, as Eng. *action*, Fr. *action*, Gk. *ἔργον* (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* vii. 8. 17). Such a use might easily become the dominant one and yield the regular expression for 'battle.' But I have no example of this.

18. ON. *orrosta*, the regular word for 'battle' in the Edda, as is Mod. Icel. *orusta*, is probably to be analyzed as **or-z-osta* and connected with OE. *eornost* 'earnestness,' also sometimes 'battle,' from the root seen in Gk. *ὀρνυμι* 'stir up, incite,' etc. Cf. Per Persson, *Bezz. Beitr.*, XIX, 271, *Beitr. zur idg. Wortforschung*, pp. 636 ff.

19. Skt. *raṇa-* 'joy' is also a common word for 'battle,' the connecting link being 'joy of battle.'

Compare Gk. *ἀνρή* 'cry,' specialized to 'battle-cry,' and substantially equivalent to 'battle' in the frequent Homeric phrase *ἀνρή τε πολέμος τε*, and in Pindar's *κίνδυνος οἰξείας ἀνρᾶς*.

20. Ir. *cath*, etc. The general Celtic word for 'battle,' lacking only in Breton, is seen in Ir. *cath*, Welsh *cad*, Corn. *caz*, Gall. *Caturiges*, cognate with OE. *Heabo-*, OHG. *Hadu-* in proper names. Further connection with Skt. *ṣatru-* 'enemy,' Gk. *κόρος* 'wrath' is probable, in which case the semantic development may well have

been 'hatred, enmity, hostility, fight.' Cf. OE. *nīd* 'hatred, spite, enmity' (NHG. *Neid*), also in poetry 'battle' or 'war.'

21. Mod. Pers. *jang*, the usual word for 'battle' and 'war' (likewise in Hindustani) is obviously the same as Mod. Turk. *jenk* 'battle, war.' There is no trace of this word in earlier Iranian, and the borrowing in this case is probably not from Persian but from Turkish, just as some other Turkish military terms have passed into Persian (and Hindustani), as *urdu* 'camp.'¹

'WAR'

War is only a prolonged condition of organized fighting, and the distinction which we make between 'war' and 'battle' is secondary and by no means universal. Several of the words already mentioned are used for 'war' as well as for 'battle' (cf. 6, 8, 16, 21). Of the following words for 'war,' some are known to have been used for 'battle' (cf. 22, 23); some are derivatives of words for 'battle' (cf. 25, 26); and most of the others are from semantic sources similar to those which have been noted in the case of the words for 'battle.'

22. Gk. *πόλεμος* 'war' was once simply 'fighting, battle,' as pre-vaillingly in Homer, e.g. *Il.* iii. 134: "now they rest quietly leaning on their shields, and the battle has ceased." It is connected with *πελεμίζω* 'shake,' *πάλλω* 'swing, brandish,' etc.

23. Roum. *războiu* 'war' meant 'battle' in the earlier language, before the introduction of *bătălie* (see 5). It is a Slavic word, ChSl. *razbojŭ* 'murder, robbery,' a compound of *razŭ-* 'dis-' and the root of *biti* 'strike,' seen in *bojŭ* 'fight' (11).

24. Albanian *l'ufte* 'war' is like Roum. *luptă*, Ital. *lotta*, Fr. *lutte*, from Lat. *lucta* 'wrestling match.' No doubt the Albanian word was once, and perhaps is sometimes still, used for 'battle,' which is, however, commonly expressed by *niza*, of Turkish origin.

25. Arm. *paterazm* 'war' (also 'battle') is from Pahl. *pātrazm*, a compound (prefix *pati-* with *vṛddhi*, as in Avest. *pāiti-vāka-*) of *razm* 'battle' (14).

¹ Horn, *Grd. d. iran. Phil.*, II, 7, does not mention *jang* in his list of Turkish loan words in Persian. My belief in Turkish origin is based on the lack of Iranian connection. Positive evidence, such as the existence of the word in the remoter languages of the Turkish family, may perhaps be supplied by those to whom more material in this field is accessible.

26. Ir. *cogadh* 'war,' Ir. *cocad* 'battle,' is a compound (prefix *co-* 'con-') of *cath* 'battle' (20). Manx *caggey* is given as meaning both 'war' and 'battle.'

27. Breton *brezel* 'war' (cf. Corn. *bresel* 'strife') is from the root seen in *bresa* 'bruise,' OIr. *brissim* 'break, smash,' OE. *berstan* 'break, burst.'

28. The general Slavic word for 'war,' ChSl., Russ., Boh., etc. *vojna*, Pol. *wojna*, is from the root seen in Lith. *veju, vyti*, Skt. *vayati*, Avest. *vayeiti*, all meaning 'pursue, chase, drive.'

29. Skt. *samprahāra-* 'war' is from *sam-pra-har-* 'hurl, cast, attack.'

30. Skt. *vigraha-* 'separation, discord,' from *vi-grabh-*, is another frequent word for 'war.'

31. NHG. *Krieg* 'war' had the more general meaning 'strife' until about the end of the Middle High German period. It belongs with *kriegen* 'get,' which formerly meant 'strive' (cf. Paul, *Deutsches Wtb.*). Danish and Swedish *krig* 'war' are borrowed from German; and Dutch *krijg* owes its present meaning 'war' to the influence of the German usage.

32. OE. *gewinn* 'toil, struggle, strife' (cf. *winnan* 'strive,' Eng. *win*) is also the commonest prose word for 'war,' as *Troiana gewin* 'the Trojan war,' *Punica gewin* 'the Punic wars' in King Alfred's *Orosius*, where it is regularly used to translate *bellum*.

33. Ital., Span., Port. *guerra*, Fr. *guerre*, whence ME. *werre*, Eng. *war*, are borrowed from a Germanic word seen in OHG. *werre* 'confusion, strife' (cf. NHG. *wirren, verwirren*).

34. Dutch *oorlog*, etc. OHG. *urliugi*, MHG. *urliuge*, the usual word for 'war' until displaced by *Krieg*, also (with different grade of the root syllable) MHG. *urlouge*, MLG. *orloge*, OFris. *orloge*, and Dutch *oorlog*, which in spite of the encroachment of *krijg*, persists as the usual word for 'war,' have been connected with Goth. *liuga* 'marriage,' Ir. *luige* 'oath,' on the basis of a compound meaning 'out of compact, breach of compact.' Cf. ON. *úfriðr* 'un-peace, war.' So Torp and Falk, Fick, III⁴, 374, *Norw.-Dan. et. Wtb.*, s.v. *orlog*. Dan. *orlog* is borrowed from MLG. *orloge* and specialized to 'naval war.'¹

¹ Span. *armada* 'naval force,' contrasted with *army*, etc., is only apparently an example of similar specialization (see 44).

OE. *orleg* 'strife, war,' OS. *orlag*, etc., though not formally identical with the preceding, is a similar compound, connected with OE. *lagu* 'law.'

35. Lat. *bellum*, early *duellum*, is of uncertain origin. Cf. Walde, *Lat. et. Wtb.*² with references. The combination with Hom. *δατ* 'in battle,' *δῆμος* 'hostile,' is perhaps the favorite. But the old derivation from *duo*, though the suffix formation is obscure, is semantically possible. For the objection that the earliest recorded 'sense' is 'war,' not 'duel,'¹ is inconclusive. An extension from 'duel' to 'battle,' such as took place in the historical period in the case of MHG. *Kampf* (see 15), and from 'battle' to 'war,' as in *πόλεμος* (22), might have been completed in prehistoric times. Or the development might have been 'separation, discord' (cf. NHG. *Zwist* from *zwei*), hence 'war,' as in Skt. *vigraha-* (30).

36. Welsh *rhyfel* 'war' is, to me at least, of unknown derivation. For Lith. *karas*, Lett. *karsch* 'war,' see 41.

'ARMY'

37-41. From 'people, multitude,' etc. Many of the words for 'army' mean also, or are cognate with words meaning, 'people, host, band, multitude,' etc. The 'army' was 'the people (in arms),' or 'the (armed) host,' a specialization inherent in the situation in time of war. That the military application is secondary is sometimes plain from the evidence, and in general is the natural and reasonable assumption, unless there is specific evidence to the contrary. This is not to deny, of course, that the movement may at times be in the other direction, as in the case of Eng. *host*, from OFr. *ost*, Low Lat. *hostis* 'army' (43), or just as any word for 'army' may be used figuratively to denote a great number.

37. The words of the Germanic group represented by Eng. *folk*, NHG. *Volk*, while usually meaning 'people,' are also used of an 'armed band' or 'army.' So often ON. *folk*, OHG. *folc*, OE. *folc*, and regularly OE. *gefylce*. The borrowed ChSl. *plŭkŭ* is used in both senses, 'people' and 'armed band,' and the military use prevails in Boh. *pluk*, Russ., Pol. *polk* 'regiment.'

¹ The old form *duellum*, preserved through the medium of poets, was revived in mediaeval times, under association with *duo*, in the sense of 'duel.'

Paul (*Deutsches Wtb.*²) asserts that Volk "war ursprünglich Bezeichnung einer Kriegerschaar." But the more generally prevailing meaning 'people' even in Germanic, the meaning of the cognate Gk. *πλῆθος*, Lat. *plēbs*, *populus*, and their obvious connection with *pel-*, *plē-* 'fill,' ought to make it sufficiently clear that the meaning 'crowd, multitude, people' is the earlier, and that of 'armed band, army' secondary. If Lat. *populārī* is derived from *populus*, as seems to me most plausible in spite of other suggestions (see Walde, *s.v.*), it would indicate at the most that *populus* was also once employed in the specialized sense of 'folk army,' until later replaced by the 'trained army,' *exercitus*.

38. Mid. Ir. *sluag* 'band, army,' Mod. Ir. *sluagh* 'army, multitude, people,' etc., Welsh *llu* 'throng, host, army,' Corn. *lu* (*luu*, *llu*) 'multitude, army.' That the more general meaning 'band, throng' is also the earlier is apparent from the compounds Mid. Ir. *teg-lach* 'household,' Welsh, Corn. *tei-lu* 'family,' and the probably cognate ChSl. *sluga* 'servant' (originally a feminine collective 'familia'). Cf. Pedersen, *Gram. der kelt. Sprachen*, I, 84.

Compare also Welsh *byddin* 'band, troupe' and, besides *llu*, a common word for 'army,' cognate with Mod. Ir. *buiden* 'band, troupe,' Old Breton *bodin* which glosses *manus* in *hic Dolopum manus*.

OE. *werod* 'throng, band' (from *wer* 'man') is also used for 'army,' and occasionally, instead of the usual *here*, glosses *exercitus*.

39. Pahlavi *gund* 'army,' whence were borrowed Arm. *gund* 'army' and Arab. *jund* 'army,' is identical with Mod. Pers. *ghund* 'crowd,' and Kurdish *günd*, *jund* 'village.' Although the meaning 'army' is the one quotable from the earlier time, this may be accidental. There are no certain cognates outside of Iranian (cf. Horn, *Neupers. Etym.*, p. 179; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 83).

40. Avest. *spāda-* 'army, host,' OPers. *spāda-* in *Taxma-spāda*, Mod. Pers. *sipāh* 'army,' is probably derived from *spā-*, Skt. *ṣvā* 'swell,' and meant originally 'crowd, throng.'

41. NHG. *Heer*, etc.—The most widespread group of cognate words for 'army' is that which comprises the general Germanic word—Goth. *harjis*, ON. *herr*, Swed. *här*, Dan. *hær*, OE. *here*, OFris. *here*, *hiri*, OS. *heri*, MD. *here*, OHG. *hari*, *heri*, NHG. *Heer*—also

OPers. *kāra-*, the regular word for 'army' in the Old Persian inscriptions, further Lith. *karis*, *karias* 'army' (now obsolete), OPrus. *kragis*, (read *kargis*, i.e. *karjis*; cf. *carya-woytis* 'Heerschau'), with which belong Lith. *karas* 'war' (*karė* in Russian Lithuanian), and Lett. *kaŗsch* 'war.'

The Germanic words in the older period are used not only for 'army' but also in the sense of 'host, multitude, people,' e.g. ON. *Danskr herr* 'Danish people,' etc. In fact Goth. *harjis* is quotable only in the broader sense, translating once *σπαρτὰ οὐράνιος* 'the heavenly host' (Luke 2:13), and once *λεγεών* (Luke 8:30), though this may well be accidental, the passages where it would be looked for in the sense of 'army,' e.g. Rev. 9:16; 19:19, being lacking. OPers. *kāra-* also in several passages means simply 'people,' e.g., Bh. 1. 10 "the people had no knowledge that Smerdis was slain."

In spite of the dominance in this group of the meaning 'army,' the probability is that this is derived from 'multitude, people,' as in the case of the words previously discussed. But the prevailing view is the opposite.¹

42-51. From various sources, as 'trained,' 'armed,' or 'attacking' (body), 'enemy,' 'expedition,' 'camp.'

42. Lat. *exercitus* was originally an abstract meaning 'training,' as in 'pro exercitu gymnastico et palaestrico' (Plaut. *Rud.* 21. 7).

¹ In discussions of the Germanic group (Paul, *Deutsches Wtb.*², Kluge, *Etym. Wtb.*⁸, Falk-Torp in Fick, III⁴, and *Norw.-Dan. etym. Wtb.*) it is assumed (1) that the meaning 'army' is more original than 'host, people,' (2) that the Germanic word is a derivative of one meaning 'war,' which (3) is attested by Lith. *karas* 'war,' this again (4) being cognate with ChSl. *kara* 'strife.' But, to take up these points in reverse order, ChSl. *kara* belongs to an extensive group of words used of verbal strife only, especially 'abuse, insult, mockery,' etc., and probably unrelated to the preceding group. Cf. Berneker, *Slav. et. Wtb.*, pp. 578 ff., Walde, *Lat. et. Wtb.*², s.v. *carino*. With this eliminated, there is no support for the priority of the meaning 'war.' Further, the notion of an *o*-stem meaning 'war' and a derivative *īo*-stem meaning 'army' works out for the Lith. *karas* and the Germanic forms, but, conversely, OPers. *kāra-* means 'army,' not 'war,' and Lett. *kaŗsch* 'war' is a *īo*-stem = Lith. *karias*. Plainly the difference in meaning has nothing to do with the variation in stem, and it is simply a question of semantic development from 'war' to 'army,' or from 'army' to 'war.' Analogies may be found for a shift in either direction, but here the probability is certainly that the meaning 'war,' which is found only in Lithuanian and Lettic, is the secondary. Cf. the occasional use of ON. *folk* in the sense of 'battle' (Cleasby-Vigfusson), and of OE. *here* as 'war, devastation.'

If now the alleged derivation of the group in question from a word meaning 'war' is rejected no specific reason is left for assuming the priority of the meaning 'army' over the broader use 'multitude, people.'

Hence in a concrete and specialized sense 'body of men trained to arms, army.'

Borrowed from the Romans in the Orient, probably in Parthian times, *exercitus* is the source of Arabic 'askar 'army' (with transposition of *ks* to *sk*, as in *al Iskandar* from 'Αλέξανδρος),¹ and, through the Arabic, of Persian and Hindustani *lashkar*.

In colloquial Latin *exercitus* became obsolete, being displaced by *hostis* (43). But it was taken up again from the learned language (see under 43) and became the usual word for 'army' in Spanish and Portuguese (*ejercito*) and in Italian (*esercito*).²

43. Low Lat. *hostis*, OFr. *ost*, Roum. *oaste*, etc. In early mediaeval documents *hostis* occurs very frequently in the sense of 'army,' as *hostem maximum collegit, cum hoste plurimo abiit, hoste commoto Francorum*. See references in Du Cange and the indexes of *Monumenta Historiae Germaniae*, especially, *Script. Rer. Merov.*, II, *Leges*, I, II. Examples are most common in works like the *Fredegar Chronicle* and the *Liber historiae Francorum*, from the period between Gregory of Tours and Charles the Great, when a knowledge of literary Latin was virtually extinct. After the first revival of learning in the ninth century and the restoration of book Latin, the proper *exercitus* reappears, and in the great mass of mediaeval chronicles is the only word used. But *hostis* must have been the general vulgar Latin word for 'army.' For it is reflected not only in OFr. *ost* (whence Eng. *host* 'army' and also 'multitude,' now obsolete in the military sense), OItal. *oste*, Span. *hueste*, Port. *hoste*, all now obsolete, but also in Roum. *oaste*, which is still the regular word for 'army,' and in Albanian *ushtrë* 'army.'

By what stages did *hostis* 'enemy' come to mean 'army'? A transition from 'enemy in arms,' 'hostile army,' to any 'army,' would

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, *Grd. d. vergl. Gram. d. semit. Sprachen*, pp. 269 ff. Ignored by Haupt, *AOS*, XXXVI, 417. I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Sprengling, for calling my attention to the Latin source of the oriental words.

² The Italian form (with *es*, not *sc* as in *scempio* from *exemplum*) bears on its face evidence of learned origin. Not so the Spanish-Portuguese form, which Diez seems to have regarded as a genuine survival ("exercitus erhielt sich nur im Südwesten"). But here too the older language has only *hueste* (Port. *hoste*), as my colleague Professor Pietsch assures me, and *ejercito* is certainly of learned origin with *j* for *x* after the analogy of inherited forms, just as in *projimo* beside *proximo* (Hanssen, *Span. Gram.* p. 60).

be one's first thought and is taken for granted by some Romance scholars. But what seems more probably the true explanation was given by Diez. *Etym. Wtb.*, I, 229: "Schon in ältesten Mlatein bedeutet *hostis* heer oder kriegsdienst; der begriff konnte sich aus der üblichen redensart *ire in hostem*, gegen den feind, d.i. zum heere gehen, entfaltet haben." The recruiting regulations of the Franks and the Visigoths abound in phrases like *convenire in hostem*, *exire in hostem*, *proficisci in hostem*, *in hostem bannitus*, etc. Cf. for example, from the capitularia of Charles the Great (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Leges* II, 166): "Quicumque liber homo in hostem bannitus fuerit et venire contempserit, plenum heribannum, id est solidos sexaginta, persolvat," while another (p. 153) reads "De peribanno. . . . Qui hostem facere potuit et non fecit, ipsum bannum componate," or from the *Leges Visigothum* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Leges* I, 367): "compulsos exercitus, quando Gotos in hostem exire compellunt." The phrases containing *in hostem* would bear the translation "go forth against the enemy," "summoned against the enemy," etc., but were actually felt as "go forth on military service," "join the army," "summoned to military service," etc., whence also *hostem facere*, *hostis bannitus* (OFr. *ost bannie*), *prepositus hostis*, *in hoste* "on military service," "in the army," etc.

44. Fr. *armée*, Eng. *army*, etc. Starting from *armata classis*, current in early mediaeval chronicles, *armata* alone came to be used for 'naval force,' and also, by extension, for 'land force.' OItal. *armata* is used most frequently of a naval force, e.g. *l'esercito e l'armata* 'army and navy,' but also as an equivalent of *esercito*. Span.-Port. *armada* has only the former sense. Fr. *armée* is not quotable before the fourteenth century, and, while the form is French, its use is probably due to Italian influence (though such influence in military terminology is most conspicuous in the sixteenth century, see 59); otherwise it is strange that in earlier French we find, for example, *armez* 'armed men, soldiers,' but no trace of the feminine form used substantively for 'armed force.'

Fr. *armée* was used for a time of either a naval or a land force and passed into English in both senses. Eng. *army* (*armee*, *armie*) was used of an armed expedition by sea (so in the earliest quotable occurrence, Chaucer, *Prol.*, 59) or by land ("made a great army into

Scotland," 1502), and of a naval or land force, the application to a naval force not becoming obsolete for some centuries (see NED). Later, Fr. *armée*, in its present established use, beside being the source of Breton *arme*, passed into many of the European languages, without, however, displacing the native words, e.g., NHG. *Armee*, Russ. *armija* (whence also *armija* in Russian Lithuanian, p. 15, note).

45. Dutch *leger*, cognate with NHG. *Lager*, Eng. *lair*, etc., and meaning 'resting place,' especially 'camp,' came to be used for 'army' in the sixteenth century, and is now the usual word (*heir* from MD. *here* being now obsolete, except in biblical language). Luther sometimes used *Lager* for 'encamped army,' e.g., Num. 10:5 where our King James version also has "the camps that lie on the east parts shall go forward."

In one of the Rhaeto-Roman dialects the regular word for 'army' is (or was) *comp*, from Lat. *campus*. So in the Frankfurt New Testament, based on the version of 1648 by Lucius Gabriel of Ilanz, e.g., Rev. 19:19, *lur comps*, *sin comp*.

OSpan. *fonsado*, OPort. *fossado* 'army,' also *φοσσᾶτον* 'camp' and 'army' in Byzantine writers, are from Lat. *fossātum* 'ditch,' whence 'camp protected by a moat.'

46. Gk. *στρατόπεδον* 'camp' was also used frequently of an army, e.g., Hdt. i. 76, Xen. *Anab.* iv. 4. 9, and even of a naval force, e.g., Thuc. i. 117. Cf. *στρατόπεδα ναυτικά καὶ πεζικά*, Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 8. Gk. *στρατός* the most usual word for 'army' from Homer to the present day, is from the root seen in *στορέννυμι* Lat. *sternō* etc., and meant first the 'encamped army.'

47. OE. *fierd*, cognate with OSax. *fard*, OHG. *fart*, NHG. *Fahrt*, never means simply 'journey' but rather 'military expedition, campaign,' hence also 'army.' A sentence like *Claudius, se casere, fyrde gelædde on Breotone*, "Claudius, the emperor, led an expedition [or army] into Britain" (*Bede's Eccl. Hist.*, I, 3) illustrates the easy transition. In the Chronicles *fierd* is the word regularly employed to designate the English army in contrast to the Danish *here*. But elsewhere *fierd* is freely used without such distinction of native and hostile army. In early Middle English *fērd* appears to be more common than *hēre*, and to have become the usual word, prior to the introduction of *armie*.

Compare early NHG. *Reise* often = 'Kriegszug.' The opposite transition is seen in Gk. *ταξείδιον* (from *τάξις* in sense of 'body of soldiers'), frequent in Byzantine writers in the sense of 'military expedition,' but now *ταξίδι*, simply 'journey,' with verb *ταξιδεύω* 'travel.'

48. Skt. *senā*-, the regular word for 'army' and Avest. *haēnā*-, OPers. *hainā*-, which are applied only to a hostile army, are identical with Skt. *senā*-, Avest. *haēnā*- 'missile' (cf. also Skt. *sāyaka*- 'missile'). The 'army' was the 'missile' or 'attack.' Compare the following.

49. The general Slavic word for 'army,' ChSl. *vojsko* or *vojska*, Russ. *vojska*, Pol. *wojsko*, Boh. *vojsko*, Serbo-Croat. and Bulg. *vojska*, is from the same root meaning 'pursue,' etc., that is seen in *vojna* 'war' (see 28). Lith. *vaiskas* 'army' is a Polish loan word.¹

50. Arm. *zor*, OArm. *zaur* 'army' is an Iranian loan word. Cf. Avest. *zāvarə*, Mod. Pers. *zor* 'power, might.' Compare Eng. *force* and *forces* in military application.

51. Lett. *kara-spehks* 'army' is 'war might.'

'SOLDIER'

52. 'Soldier' = 'belonging to the army,' derivative (or compound) of a word for 'army.' Skt. *sāinika*, from *senā* (48). Mod. Pers. *sipāhī*, which passed into Hindustani and thence into the other Indian vernaculars (cf. Anglo-Indian *sepoy*), from *sipāh* (40). Mod. Pers. *lashkarī* from *lashkar* (42), OArm. *zaurakan* from *zaur* (50). Gk. *σπατιώτης* from *σπατός*, *σπατιά* (45). Roum. *ostaş* (now obsolete, replaced by *soldat*) from *oaste* (43). Alb. *ushtār*, *ushetār* from *ushtrī* (43). OE. *here-mann*, *here-maecg*, ON. *her-maðr* (Mod. Icel. *her-maður*), *her-mōgr*, from *here* (41).

53. 'Soldier' = 'armed,' derivative of word for 'arms.' Arm. *zinvor* from *zēn* 'arms, weapons,' which is an Iranian loan word (Avest. *zaēnā*-, Pahl. *zēn*); cf. OFr. *armez*, etc.

54. 'Soldier' = 'warrior' or 'fighter,' derivative from word for 'war' or 'battle' or from the same root. The true Slavic words for

¹The Polish loan words *vaiskas* and *žalnierius* (58) are the usual words for 'army' and 'soldier' in texts from Prussian Lithuania. But our Lithuanian newspapers, which reflect the vocabulary of the Russian Lithuanian dialects (and show hosts of words which are bracketed or omitted in Kurschat's Dictionary) use the Russian *armija* (44) for 'army' and the native *kareivis* (54) for 'soldier.'

'soldier' are derived from *vojna* 'war,' as *vojník* in Russian, etc.; or from the same root, as ChSl. *voji* (plur.), *vojinŭ* (sing.), Serbo-Croat., Russ. *vojin*, Boh., Serbo-Croat., Russ., *vojak*, Pol. *wojak*. (In Russian and Polish these words are now archaic or poetical, like Eng. *warrior*, having been replaced in ordinary use by *soldat* in Russian, *żołnierz* in Polish, see 58, 59.)

OE. *wiga* 'fighter, warrior' from *wīgan* 'fight.' Welsh *cadwar* and OCorn. *cadwur*, which glosses Lat. *miles*, belong with MĪr. *cath-fer* 'man of battle, warrior.' Cf. ON. *orrosta-maðr*.

Lett. *kara-wihrs* 'war man,' which is used for 'soldier' in the Lettic New Testament, and Lett. *kareiwis*, Lith. *kareivis*, 'one who goes to war' (cpd. of *karas* 'war' and *eiti* 'go'), the regular word for 'soldier' in Russian Lithuania.

55. Goth. *gadrauhts*, which renders *στρατιώτης* (cf. also *drauhtinōn* 'to war,' *drauhtinassus*, *drauhtiwitōþ* 'warfare') is related to OE. *drygt* 'troop, company, army,' *gedreag* 'crowd,' OHG *truht*, 'troop, band,' Lith. *draugas* 'companion,' *drauge* 'with,' ChSl. *drugŭ* 'friend,' etc., all having in common the notion of 'company, band' or 'one of a company.' Specialization in a military sense is partial in the West Germanic forms, complete in the Gothic.¹ The application of *gadrauhts* to the individual soldier, in place of the collective use, probably started in the plural, just as the plural of OE. *dryht* means 'men.'

56. Lat. *mīles* is most probably connected with Gk. *ὄμιλος* 'crowd,' *ὀμιλέω* 'consort with,' Skt. *mīl-* 'meet, assemble,' *mela-* 'meeting, assembly.' One may suppose that the form was used first in the plural, *mīl-it-ēs* "die haufenweise, scharweise marschierenden" (so Walde, *Lat. et. Wtb.*², s.v.). But another possibility is that *mīlēs* is a secondary derivative, like *eques* from *equus*, from a stem **mīlo* (**meilo-* like Skt. *mela-*) which had come to mean 'hostile meeting, battle.' Cf. OPers. *hamarana-*, Germ. *Treffen* (13), and for this particular group, the occasional use of *ὀμιλέω* in a hostile sense, as *ὀμιλέομεν Δαναοῖσιν* Hom. *Il.* xi. 523, etc.

¹ So that they reacted on *driugan*, which occurs only in the meaning 'wage war.' This belongs with OE. *drēogan* 'perform, practice' and others of a group which covers a different semantic area than the above, though very likely ultimately related. Cf. Wood, *Mod. Phil.*, V, 271 ff.

From Lat. *mīles* are borrowed M.Ir. *mīl* (also *cathmīl* 'battle soldier'), and Welsh *mīlwr* (with *-wr* 'man' as in *cadwr*).

57-59. Eng. *soldier*, Fr. *soldat*, etc. From the time of Constantine the Great the gold coin which was the standard unit was known as a *solidus*.¹ From this came the use of *solidum* or more often *solidata* for *stipendium militum*, the regular pay of soldiers, and of the verb *solidare* 'to pay the soldier's stipend.' Hence the mercenary was called (*miles*) (1) *solidarius* or *solidatarius*, (2) *solidenarius*, or (3) simply *solidatus*.²

57. *Solidatarius* is represented by OProv. *soudadier* and by OFr. *souidoier* (also spelled *soldoier*, *sodoier*, *saudoier*, *soldeier*), which is the source of Eng. *soldier*, quotable from 1300 on in the greatest possible variety of spellings (*souidoier*, *soudier*, *sauder*, *souldier*, etc., see NED). Ir. *sáighdiur* 'soldier' is a blend of the Middle English form (cf. especially the spelling *sougeour*) with a Mid.Ir., *saigdeoir* 'archer,' a derivative of *saiget* from Lat. *sagitta*. Bret. *soudard* is from the Old French.

58. *Solidenarius* is represented by OItal. *soldaniere*, OFr. *saudenier*, and especially by MHG. *soldenaere*, *soldener*, *soltner* (NHG. *Söldner*), early Danish *soldener*. The German form is the source of Polish *żolnierz*, and this again of Lith. *žalnierius*.

59. *Solidatus* is represented by Ital. *soldato*, Span.-Port. *soldado*. The Italian is the source of Fr. *soldat*, NHG. *Soldat*, which replaced the earlier French and German forms (57, 58); and also, through the medium of French (and in part of German) of Dutch *soldaat*, Dan.-Swed. *soldat*, Lett. *saldats*, Russ. *soldát*, etc. (see 54); and again

¹ So named, not because it was of 'solid metal,' as is still often stated, but because it was the basal unit, from *solidus* = *integer*. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des antiq.*, s.v. "cette pièce nouvelle . . . désignée officiellement pour être désormais la base de tous les comptes en or, fut, pour ce motif, qualifiée *aureus solidus*, et bientôt on l'appela par abréviation, *solidus*."

² Of the great number of forms occurring in mediaeval Latin texts (see Du Cange) many are doubtless due to varying artificial Latinization of the current vulgar forms. Of those cited above *solidarius* is frequent, *solidatarius* rare. Yet the latter is the proper antecedent of OFr. *souidoier*, OProv. *soudadier*, or, to put it more cautiously, it is, whether artificially constructed or not, of the type of formation represented by these. Hence we are justified in employing it as a caption at least; likewise *solidenarius*, though MHG. *soldenaere* appears to be formed after, and was certainly associated with, forms like *bildenaere*, etc.

through the medium of Russian the word has passed into remote languages of Asia, e.g. Yakut *sollat*.

Fr. *soldat* belongs to that large group of military terms which were borrowed from Italian in the sixteenth century (Nyrop, *Gram*.

SURVEY OF THE MOST DISTINCTIVE WORDS

	'Battle'	'War'	'Army'	'Soldier'
Sanskrit.....	<i>yudh</i> (1), <i>raṇa</i> (19)	<i>vigraha</i> (30), <i>samprahāra</i> (29)	<i>senā</i> (48)	<i>sāṇika</i> (52)
Avestan.....	<i>paṣana</i> (2)		<i>spāda</i> (40), <i>haēnā</i> (48)	
Old Persian.....	<i>hamarana</i> (13)		<i>kāra</i> (41), <i>hainā</i> (48)	
Modern Persian....	<i>jang</i> (21)	<i>jang</i> (21)	<i>lashkar</i> (42)	<i>sipāhi</i> (52)
Armenian.....	<i>razm</i> (14)	<i>paterazm</i> (25)	<i>zōr</i> (50)	<i>zinvor</i> (53)
Albanian.....	<i>niza</i> (24)	<i>l'ufte</i> (24)	<i>ushtri</i> (43)	<i>ushtār</i> (52)
Greek.....	<i>μάχη</i> (3)	<i>πόλεμος</i> (22)	<i>σπαρτός</i> (45)	<i>σπαρτώτης</i> (52)
Latin.....	<i>pugna</i> (4)	<i>bellum</i> (35)	<i>exercitus</i> (42)	<i>miles</i> (56)
Italian.....	<i>battaglia</i> (5)	<i>guerra</i> (32)	<i>esercito</i> (42)	<i>soldato</i> (59)
Spanish.....	<i>bataille</i> (5)	<i>guerre</i> (32)	<i>armée</i> (44)	<i>soldat</i> (59)
Spanish.....	<i>batailla</i> (5)	<i>guerra</i> (32)	<i>ejército</i> (42)	<i>soldado</i> (59)
Roumanian.....	<i>bătălie</i> (5)	<i>războiu</i> (23)	<i>oaste</i> (43)	<i>soldat</i> (59)
Irish.....	<i>cath</i> (20)	<i>cogadh</i> (26)	<i>sluagh</i> (38)	<i>sáighdiur</i> (57)
Welsh.....	<i>cad</i> (20)	<i>rhyfel</i> (36)	<i>llu</i> (38)	<i>milwr</i> (56)
Gothic.....	<i>waikhjō</i> (8)	<i>wigans</i> (8)	<i>harjis</i> (41)	<i>gadrauhhs</i> (55)
Old Norse.....	<i>orrost</i> (18)	<i>stríð</i> (16)	<i>herr</i> (41)	<i>hermaðr</i> (52)
Swedish.....	<i>slag</i> (7)	<i>krig</i> (31)	<i>här</i> (41)	<i>soldat</i> (59)
Middle High				
German.....	<i>strit</i> (16)	<i>urliuge</i> (34)	<i>her</i> (41)	<i>soldenaere</i> (58)
New High German..	<i>Schlacht</i> (7), <i>Kampf</i> (15)	<i>Krieg</i> (31)	<i>Heer</i> (41)	<i>Soldat</i> (59)
Dutch.....	<i>slag</i> (7)	<i>oorlog</i> (34)	<i>leger</i> (45)	<i>soldaat</i> (59)
Old English.....	<i>gefeoh</i> (6)	<i>gewinn</i> (32)	<i>here</i> (41), <i>fierd</i> (47)	<i>heremann</i> (52)
New English.....	<i>battle</i> (5)	<i>war</i> (33)	<i>army</i> (44)	<i>soldier</i> (57)
Lithuanian.....	<i>muszis</i> (9)	<i>karas, karé</i> (41)	<i>vaiskas</i> (49), <i>armija</i> (44)	<i>žalnièrius</i> (58), <i>kareivis</i> (54)
Lettic.....	<i>kauja</i> (10)	<i>karsch</i> (41)	<i>karaspehks</i> (51)	<i>saldats</i> (59)
Old Church Slavonic	<i>bojŭ</i> (11)	<i>vojna</i> (28)	<i>vojsko</i> (49)	<i>vojŭ</i> (54)
Russian.....	<i>sraženie</i> (12)	<i>vojna</i> (28)	<i>vojsko</i> (49)	<i>soldat</i> (59)
Serbo-Croatian....	<i>boj</i> (11)	<i>vojna</i> (28)	<i>vojska</i> (49)	<i>vojnîk</i> (54)
Bohemian.....	<i>bitva</i> (11)	<i>vojna</i> (28)	<i>vojsko</i> (49)	<i>vojak</i> (54)
Polish.....	<i>bitwa</i> (11)	<i>wojna</i> (28)	<i>wojsko</i> (49)	<i>żołnierz</i> (58)

hist. de la langue française, I, 56 ff. lists about 40 such), and which aroused the ire of Henry Estienne in his *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage française italianizé*, published in 1578. As to NHG. *Soldat*, which dates from the sixteenth century, it was once suggested that the form found its way into German through the medium of the Italian and Spanish troops in the low countries. But it is more to

the point to recall that the great sixteenth-century wars between Charles V and Francis I, in which the German, Spanish, French, and Italian troops were engaged, were waged chiefly on Italian soil.

The original meaning 'mercenary soldier' was often lost sight of even in earlier periods, and such restriction, with the derogatory feeling attached to 'mercenary,' was wholly absent from *soldat* when it spread over Europe. The same is of course true of Eng. *soldier* and all the other modern forms mentioned in 57, 58, except that NHG. *Söldner* was restricted to the older sense of 'mercenary,' after the introduction of *soldat*.